Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 HONG K 08771 012112Z

64
ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 SAJ-01 IO-13 NIC-01 RSR-01 OMB-01 AID-20 /145 W
---------- 120454
R 010500Z SEP 73
FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8058
INFO USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HONG KONG 8771

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: A. HONG KONG 8729; B. HONG KONG 8680

SUMMARY. THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IN LARGE PART, REFLECTS THE SAME PRIORITIES THE REGIME USED IN SHAPING ITS POLITBURO. IN RELATION TO ITS DOMINANT POSITION IN THE NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE PLA'S STRENGTH IS DOWN SHARPLY. CIVILIAN CADRE IN PEKING AND THE PROVINCES HAVE FILLED THE SEATS LOST BY THE PLA. MASS ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO INCREASED THEIR NUMBERS. THEY OCCUPY THE FORTY NEW SEATS THE TENTH CONGRESS HAS ADDED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. END SUMMARY

1. THE LIN PIAO AFFAIR HAS OBVIOUSLY REDOUNDED TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE PLA. IN A CONGRESS HAUNTED BY THE GHOST OF LIN (REF B), WHICH TOOK FIVE OF SIX POLITBUTO SEATS OCCUPOED BY LIN AND HIS PLA FOLLOWERS AND FILLED THEM WITH CIVILIANS (REF A), THE PLA ALSO LOST WHEN THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS DRAWN UP. EXCEPTING THE MILITARY, THE TENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE CARRIES FOWARD THE CADRE POLICY OF THE NINTH. ALMOST THREE-FOURTHS OF THOSE SELECTED
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 HONG K 08771 012112Z

IN 1969 HAVE RETAINED THEIR SEATS. OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT,

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

ALMOST THREE-FOURTHS CAME FROM THE PLA.

2. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE PLA'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE STRENGTH CAN BEST BE CHARTED BY MEASURING IT AGAINST THAT OF THE CIVILIAN CADRE ALONE, IE LEAVING ASIDE MASS ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES. IN 1962, THE PLA HAD ONLY A QUARTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SEATS OCCUPIED BY ACTIVE POWER HOLDERS (DONALD KLEIN, CHINA QUARTERLY, DECEMBER 1962). AFTER THE LIN-DOMINATED NINTH CONGRESS, THAT PROPORTION GREW TO A WHOPPING 56 PERCENT. NOW IT HAS BEEN REDUCED TO NEAR 40 PERCENT, A FIGURE ABOUT HALF-WAY BETWEEN THE PLA'S 1969 PEAK AND ITS STRENGTH PRIOR TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

3. THE LOST PLA SEATS HAVE BEEN QUITE EVENLY DISTRIBUTED TO THREE CIVILIAN GROUPS; CHOU EN-LAI'S STATE COUNCIL AND ATTACHED EXPERTS (UP 12), PARTY CADRE BASED IN PEKING (UP SEVEN, ALL REHABILITEES), AND CIVILIANS IN THE PROVINCIAL PARTY APPARATUS (UP TEN). THESE ADDITIONS ALSO INCORPORATE THE MOST EYE-CATCHING ASPECTS OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE--THE HIGH NUMBER OF THOSE SELECTED WHOSE JOBS ARE IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AREA (AT LEAST 11) AND THE LARGE NUMBER OF REHABILITATED PROVINCIAL PARTY BOSSES.

4. THE LATTER GROUP-WHICH WE LUMP WITH THE PARTY IN PEKING BECAUSE THAT IS WHERE THESE PEOPLE PRESENTLY ARE--IS MADE UP OF NINE VETERANS OF THE EIGHTH CONGRESS WHO WERE PURGED IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. SEVEN WERE PROVINCIAL CCP FIRST SECRETARIES, ONE AN EX-GOVERNOR AND SECOND SECRETARY, AND ONE (LI CHING-CHUAN) IS A FORMER REGIONAL PARY BUREAU TSAR. MOST OF THE NINE PUBLICLY EMERGED THIS WEEK FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THEY ALL APPARENTLY ARE WITHOUT SPECIFIC JOBS. MOST SEEM UNLIKELY TO RETURN TO PROVINCIAL ASSIGNMENTS, AS THE PROVINCES THEY ONCE HEADED ARE NOW LED BY RESPECTED MEMBES OF THE PRSENT LEADERSHIP. THEIR ONE-TIME BOSS, FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL TENG HSIAO-PING, FAILED TO MAKE THE POLITBURO, A HINT THAT THEY TOO MAY NOT RETURN TO THEIR FORMER PROMINENCE.

5. THE REHABILITIZATION OF THE OLD PROVINCIAL BOSSES--ALONG WITH THE FACT THAT EIGHT OF THE NINE NEW POLITBURO MEMBERS AND ALTERNATES COME FROM THE PROVINCES--ARE SYMBOLIC OF THE PARTY'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CONTINUING EMPHAIS ON PROVINCIAL POWER HOLDERS AS OPPOSED TO CENTER-BASED BUREAUCRATS. AGAIN LEAVING MASS ORGANIZATION

REPRESENTATIVES ASIDE, IN 1969 THE NUMBER OF PEKING-BASED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS DROPPED FROM THE EIGHTH COMMITTEE'S 70 PERCENT TO LESS THAN 50 PERCENT. TODAY, EVEN WITH THE NINE REHABILITATED PROVINCIAL PARTY LEADERS INCLUDED IN THE PEKING GROUP, THAT FIGURE REMAINS AT 51 PERCENT. FURTHER, PLA

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

MEN TO PROVINICAL CCP POSITIONS FARED BETTER THAN THOSE SERVING AT THE CENTER, TAKING A NET LOSS OF ONLY FOUR SEATS (AS OPPOSED TO 12 FOR THEIR PEKING-BASED COLLEAGUES). INDEED, NEARLY HALF THE PLA AND CIVILIAN PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARIES ARE ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

6. THE PRINCIPLE OF POWER TO THE PROVINCES WAS NOT THE ONLY NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE CHANGE THAT HAS BEEN CARRIED OVER INTO THE TENTH. ANOTHER IS THE OPENING UP OF THE COMMITTEE TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, ORDINARY SOLDIERS, WOMEN, YOUNG PEOPLE AND MINORITIES. COUNTING THOSE WHOM WE CANNOT IDENTIFY ASHAVING PREVIOUSLY APPEARED (AND THUS THINK MORE LIKELY TO HAVE BEEN WITH THE MASSES), THERE ARE 117 SUCH REPRESENTATIVES ON THE PRESENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE, UP FROM 1969'S 80. THE INCREASE JUST ABOUT MATCHES THIS CONGRESS' ENLARGEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTE BY 40. MOST (AS IS TRUE OF THE MANY PROVINCIAL CADRE) ARE YOUNGER, AND DO HELP REPRESENT THE "SUCCESSOR GENERATION" THE REGIME HAS STATED IT HOPES TO INSTALL IN POWER. THE TENTH CONGRESS IS LEGITIMIZING THE TRANSFER OFPOWER FROM THE LONG MARCH GENERATION TO THOSE WHOSE PROMINENCE HAS BEEN ACQUIRED SINCE THE PRC WAS ESTABLISHED, A TRANSFER THAT BEGAN WITH THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.
OSBORN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HONGK08771
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730958/aaaabqro.tel
Line Count: 138
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. HONG KONG 8729; B. HONG KONG 8680
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Jul-2001 by reddocgw>; APPROVED <09-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, CH
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005